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DAVID CHABASSOL
University of Victoria

Prejudice and Personality in Adolescents

Two hundred seventy-seven junior and senior high school students were asked to describe Canadians, French Canadians, Negroes, and Jews. Canadians were evaluated most favorably, with Negroes, French Canadians, and Jews following in that order. Rarely were more unfavorable than favorable statements used to describe minority group members. Results revealed that self-rejecting students were most rejective of others. There was no evidence that high scores on dogmatism or on manifest anxiety characterize students who make the most prejudicial statements about minorities. Significant correlations were noted between self-rejection and anxiety, self-rejection and dogmatism, and between anxiety and dogmatism.

Very little objective research has been carried out on attitude possession or formation in Canadian adolescents. This deficiency in research is especially noticeable with reference to prejudice in Canadian youth. In most cases, the interested scholar must be prepared to extrapolate from the findings of American studies, or he must do without. The present study was intended to provide some information about adolescent reactions towards three minority groups, and also to explore the possible relationship between prejudice and the possession of certain personality traits.

Background

The study was, in part, an extension of the work of Radke-Yarrow & Miller (1949), who worked with a high school population in a small mid-western town in the United States. The town in question had no Negro residents and just one elderly Jewish couple. A form was used which consisted of six questions. The students were asked, "What do you think Americans are like?" and, "What makes you think so?" The two questions were repeated, asking for the students' reactions to Negroes and Jews. The students were given twenty minutes to answer these questions. Radke-Yarrow & Miller then summarized the findings, noting

the incidence of favorable and unfavorable traits attributed to each of the three groups. It was found that, even in the almost complete absence of any direct contact, the students had acquired classic patterns of prejudice against the two minority groups in question.

Method

For the present study, a town in the Maritimes with a population of approximately 4,000 was selected. There were no Negroes or Jews resident in this community. From 10% to 15% of the families had French surnames, the result of ancestors of the present students having come from Quebec, mostly via the Magdalen Islands. Although today's youthful members of such families retain the family name and religion, they do not speak French and have no direct connections with Quebec. A total of 277 students in grades 8 through 12 were asked to react to the questions, "What do you think Canadians are like?", and, "What makes you think so?" The questions were again repeated with reactions elicited for French Canadians, Negroes, and Jews. Students were given 30 minutes to complete the form. On completion, the comments were tallied and PRO and CON scores were obtained for each of the four groups. The data were so treated in order to discover whether prejudicial statements about minority groups would be found in a Canadian community in the absence of any members of these groups.

Ackerman & Jahoda (1950) define prejudice as, ". . . a pattern of hostility in interpersonal relations which is directed against an entire group, or against its individual members (p. 4) . . . ." The prejudiced person has an emotional, rigid attitude toward the group in question and his reactions are influenced to the extent that objective evidence and rational argument are ignored. The prejudiced person gives evidence of his attitudes both in his actions and in his comments. In this study, as in Radke-Yarrow & Miller's, the extent to which a student was prejudiced against a minority group was determined by the number of prejudicial comments which he made about that group.

Adorno (1950), Weller (1964), and others have found that the prejudiced individual possesses a particular pattern of personality traits. Not only does such a person reject others, but he is self-rejecting as well. He may see little of value in himself, and somehow this lack of self-worth is projected onto others. The Bills' Scale of Adjustment and Values (Bills, *et. al.*, 1951), which yields a measure of self-rejection, was administered to the present population and it was hypothesized that those students who were most rejective of self would make the most prejudicial comments about minority group members.

By the very definition of the term, prejudice implies a resistance to new ideas or information, a refusal to listen to the arguments of others

(unless they happen to coincide with one's own views), and a rigidity in thinking. Accordingly, the Dogmatism Scale (Form C), devised by Rokeach (1960), was given to all students taking part in the study. It was hypothesized that those students receiving the highest scores on dogmatism would also be identified as those making the most prejudicial comments about the three minority groups.

There is some evidence that the prejudiced person suffers quite markedly from feelings of anxiety, particularly with reference to his status in the group. Studies by Kassof (1958) and Gough (1951) tend to support this view. The Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale (Taylor, 1953) was given to the adolescents in this study, and it was hypothesized that high scores on anxiety would characterize those students making the greatest number of prejudicial comments about the three minority groups.

Studies by Plaut (1958) and Stephenson (1952), to mention but two workers in this field, have shown that girls tend to display less prejudice against minority groups than do boys. It was decided to test this hypothesis also in the present study.

Although, as mentioned above, the students with French names in this study do not have any real ties with the province of Quebec, it might be imagined that some degree of empathy would exist with French Canadians which would, unconsciously, influence the reactions of these students in favor of that particular minority group. It was hypothesized that such students would offer fewer prejudicial comments about French Canadians than would students who did not have French surnames.

To recapitulate, the main purpose of this study was to discover whether adolescents, in the absence of French Canadians, Negroes, and Jews, would make prejudicial comments about these three minority groups. Information was also sought to test the following hypotheses:

1. That adolescents who are most rejective of self would make the most prejudicial comments about minority group members.

2. That adolescents making the highest scores on dogmatism would also make the most prejudicial comments about minority group members.

3. That those adolescents making the highest scores on manifest anxiety would be identified as those making the greatest number of prejudicial comments about the members of the three minority groups.

4. That females in this study would make fewer prejudicial comments about members of minority groups than would males.

5. That those students with French surnames would make fewer prejudicial comments about French Canadians than would students who did not have French surnames.

Results

The favorable (PRO) and unfavorable (CON) comments were tallied, by grades, for Canadians and for the three minority groups. The proportion of PRO statements was determined in each case; these data are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

PROPORTION OF PRO COMMENTS, BY CLASSES, FOR FOUR ETHNIC GROUPS

Grade	Canadians	French Canadians	Negroes	Jews
8A	.916	.500	.800	.500
8B	.857	.667	.800	.667
8C	.875	.500	.667	.286
8D	.900	.750	.750	.500
9A	.800	.750	.800	.667
9B	.857	.500	.667	.500
10A	.900	.500	.875	.833
10B	.857	.500	.500	.923
11A	.800	.667	.750	.500
11B	.800	.750	.800	.500
12	.750	.800	.750	.800
Mean proportions for all grades	.847	.625	.742	.606
Standard Deviations for all Grades	.005	.120	.096	.180

A number of observations may be made. For the majority of grades, the proportion of statements favorable to Canadians is greater than it is for the other three groups. In three of the classes, i.e., 9A, 11B, and 12, the proportion of favorable statements is as great for one other group as it is for Canadians. In two grades, 10B and 12, one of the minority groups is evaluated more favorably than are Canadians. However, it can be seen that, in the main, these students have shown a decided preference for Canadians over the three minority groups.

Of the proportions shown, in only one instance, the evaluation of Jews by grade 8C, do unfavorable comments outnumber favorable ones. So, although the students show a preference for Canadians, they rarely are so critical of the other groups as to attribute to them more unfavorable than favorable traits. Does prejudice exist? "Yes," if one uses the evaluation given Canadians as a yardstick for the other groups. "No," if one accepts a favorable proportion of PRO and CON statements as evidence of its absence. Possibly the correct interpretation of these data is that the students in this sample are prejudiced in that

they do not accept all groups equally, but that such prejudice revealed is not particularly marked. Indeed, one might make the case that the more favorable treatment accorded Canadians is due to little more than ethnocentrism.

Of the three minority groups French Canadians are the least favorably evaluated. However, the mean proportion for Jews is obviously inflated by a very favorable reaction to this group by one grade, 10B. There is some suggestion that older students are more favorably disposed toward Jews than are younger ones. This trend is reversed for Canadians. It is impossible to generalize in this way for French Canadians and Negroes.

In addition to those student comments which were readily identified as being favorable or unfavorable for any group, there were two other kinds of statement which were difficult to assess. Not infrequently a student would remark, with reference to a minority group, "They are just the same as we are; they have their good and their bad points," or, "They are no better or no worse than I am." A judgment was being made in such statements even though the respondent did not spell out the specific attributes of the minority group. Furthermore, it was felt that the judgment was essentially a favorable one. Most of us will admit to having weaknesses in our makeup, but we do not necessarily mean that our weakness and strength are in perfect balance. When we say, "That person is much like me," we are implying that although he has some frailties, he is essentially a person of worth. Such statements were labelled "Equal Status" (ES) comments, and were tallied, by grades, for each minority group.

Another comment frequently encountered was, "I do not know enough about these people to describe them." It was felt, in such cases, that the respondent was being most fair in withholding comment in the absence of information. There was no suggestion of "pre-judging" of minority groups in such statements. However, such non-commital statements do not necessarily imply eventual acceptance of the group in question. There is a real possibility that if and when information is obtained about the group, the reaction to its members would be an unfavorable one. In the case of the ES statements mentioned above, the decision has already been made, and it is favorable. This second type of statement was labelled "Withholding Judgment" (WJ) and was also tallied by grades, for each minority group. There were no ES or WJ statements used to describe Canadians. Table 2 shows the number and distribution of these statements.

A trend is apparent in Table 2. The WJ statements tend to decrease as the grade level increases; that is, older students tend to resort to such comments less often than do younger ones. Perhaps this is not unexpected for older students, having had more experience with others,

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF EQUAL STATUS AND WITHHOLDING JUDGMENT STATEMENTS, BY GRADES, FOR EACH MINORITY GROUP

Grade	Equal Status			Withholding Judgment		
	Fr. Cdn.	Negro	Jew	Fr. Cdn.	Negro	Jew
8A	3	8	1	5	1	13
8B	9	10	11	5	1	11
8C	1	2	2	8	4	17
8D	4	8	2	3	2	13
9A	6	15	6	2	1	14
9B	4	11	2	3	2	10
10A	4	12	3	3	1	12
10B	4	8	3	2	0	11
11A	2	3	1	0	1	4
11B	5	5	3	0	0	7
12	5	6	8	1	0	2
TOTAL	47	88	42	32	13	114

should be in a better position to evaluate them and should have less need for a "Cannot Say" category. It is difficult to generalize with reference to the ES statements. An expected trend, similar to that noted for the WJ statements, is not easily identified.

It will be noted that almost twice as many Negroes as French-Canadians or Jews are the object of ES statements, with their implied acceptance. Jews, on the other hand, far outnumber the other minority groups in terms of the number of WJ comments received. The Negroes appear to be in a most favorable position with reference to the other two groups, and the Jews appear to be in an inferior one. When a student does not specifically describe a Negro, he most frequently makes use of an ES comment and least often makes a WJ one. The situation is reversed for Jews. They are lowest in the ES category and by far the highest in the WJ group. The uncertain student does not necessarily reject Jews but he is not as apt to confer tacit acceptance upon him as he is upon the Negro. The French Canadians occupy a middle position in both categories of statement.

Table 3 indicates the sources of information which shaped the opinions of the respondents in this study. Unfortunately, many students did not correctly answer the question, "What makes you think so?" which was designed to elicit the sources of the youths' opinions. Many claimed that their views were based on personal experience, although television, newspapers, and radio were also influential. As was expected, many students generalized from the actions of a few in describing the attributes of many. For example, separatists in Quebec and

TABLE 3

SOURCES OF INFORMATION REGARDING ETHNIC GROUPS

Source	Percentage of Statements
Source not identified	41%
Personal experiences	35%
Mass communication media	16%
Books, etc., read	3.5%
Own thoughts, opinions, ideas	2.0%
Others' opinions	2.0%
School discussions	0.5%

Negro rioters in the U.S. were frequently cited as being representative of their respective groups. Rarely, however, did anyone make any reference to the state of Israel when discussing the attributes of Jews.

Hypothesis Testing

Table 4 shows the correlations between measures of the acceptance or rejection of others and of various personality traits which were hypothesized as being related to ethnic attitudes. It will be noted that the relation between self-rejection and the acceptance of others (PRO comments) is significant and negative. This is taken as support for the first hypothesis which stated that the rejection of self would accompany

TABLE 4

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MEASURES OF SELF-REJECTION, ANXIETY, ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTION OF OTHERS, AND DOGMATISM

	Self-Rejection	Anxiety	PRO Comments	CON Comments	Dogmatism
Self-Rejection	1.00	.37***	-.17**	-.06	.19**
Anxiety	----	1.00	-.08	.03	.20**
PRO Comments	----	----	1.00	.13*	.06
CON Comments	----	----	----	1.00	.05
Dogmatism	----	----	----	----	1.00

*p<.05
**p<.01
***p<.001

rejection of others. Further support, in the form of a positive correlation between self-rejection scores and CON comments, is not provided.

The correlations between scores on dogmatism and both PRO and CON comments are low and not significant. There is, accordingly, no support for the second hypothesis, namely, that adolescents making the highest scores on dogmatism would also make the most prejudicial comments about minority group members. Similarly, non-significant correlations between anxiety and both PRO and CON statements offer no support for the third hypothesis, that those adolescents making the highest scores on manifest anxiety would also be identified as those making the greatest number of prejudicial statements about minority group members. Significant correlations are noted for self-rejection and anxiety, self-rejection and dogmatism, and anxiety and dogmatism. The latter finding might have been predicted from the study by Anderson (1961) who reported similar findings for a sample of Canadian adolescents. In further agreement with Anderson, it was found that dogmatism scores decline with age during the adolescent period, and that there was no evidence of sex differences in dogmatism.

In order to determine whether there are sex differences in prejudice, a random sample of 49 males and 43 females was selected from the total group. PRO and CON comments about the three minority groups were obtained from these students. The PRO scores for males and females were compared, and it was found that the difference between the means for these two sets of scores was significant beyond the .05 level, with girls reporting the higher scores. However, when CON comments for the two samples were compared, the difference between the means was found to be not significant, although girls reported the lower scores. The evidence does not completely support the hypothesis that girls would make fewer prejudicial statements about members of minority groups than would boys.

In order to test the fifth hypothesis, namely, that those students with French surnames would make fewer prejudicial statements about French Canadians than would students who did not have French surnames, the following procedure was used. The PRO and CON statements relating to French Canadians were tallied for the males, in all grades, with French names. A random sample of male students with non-French names was selected and their reactions to French Canadians were recorded. The comments made by girls with French names were also recorded and compared with those comments made by a random sample of girls with names which were not French. Unfortunately, because of the relatively small number of students with French names in this study, the samples were smaller than might have been wished. The means for the PRO and CON statements for these four groups were found and compared. Four comparisons were made, namely, PRO (French names)

with PRO (non-French names) and CON (French names) with CON (non-French names) for males and for females. The means are shown in Table 5. No significant differences were found between the means in these comparisons. It is apparent that students with French names do not react differently to French-Canadians than do students whose names are not French. Accordingly, the fifth hypothesis is not supported.

TABLE 5

MEANS OF PRO AND CON COMMENTS REGARDING FRENCH CANADIANS MADE BY TWO SAMPLES OF STUDENTS

Males				Females			
French Names		Non-French Names		French Names		Non-French Names	
PRO	CON	PRO	CON	PRO	CON	PRO	CON
1.80	1.00	1.41	2.00	2.30	.63	2.40	.95

Discussion

This study has attempted to shed some light on ethnic attitudes in a sample of Canadian adolescents and also to determine the extent to which certain personality traits are related to such attitudes. These students are somewhat more critical of the three minority groups than they are of Canadians in general. The standard deviations shown in Table 1 indicate that there is most agreement among the various grades as they describe Canadians, least as they describe Jews, and that Negroes and French Canadians rank second and third, respectively. Some insight into these preferences might be gained if the geographical location of the community in question is considered. As noted earlier, there were no members of the three minority groups in the town in which the study was carried out. However, a neighboring town about three miles distant had a large Negro population. Through high school sports programmes and recreational activities, the respondents encountered a number of Negro youth and were, apparently, quite favorably impressed. This same neighboring town had a number of Jewish families, composed almost entirely of older members who were active in the business life of the community. The respondents had little or no chance to evaluate Jews through personal contact with youth their own age and this fact may, in part, account for the ratings which Jews received. The more favorable evaluation of Negroes as compared with Jews might also be explained in terms of the socio-economic status of the two groups in the town in which they lived. The former are found in the lower class and lower middle class whereas the latter are primarily found in upper middle class. The respondents, themselves from the lower middle class in most cases, would conceivably find it easier to identify with

the less affluent Negroes than with the more wealthy Jews and, in consequence, react to the former more favorably.

There is no ready explanation for the evaluation given French Canadians. Most of these students would have had little opportunity to meet members of this minority group personally and presumably their attitudes would have been largely influenced by vicarious experiences. The actions of separatists in Quebec, coupled with the inflammatory remarks of General de Gaulle, which were quite fresh when this study was undertaken, probably tended to exercise an adverse influence on the attitudes of these students. It is apparent, from the data reported in Table 3, that these students perceive the school as having had virtually no influence on their attitudes toward minority groups.

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W. P. EDDY
Taber School Division
Taber, Alberta

The Relationship of Role Orientation of Teachers to Organization of Schools

The general problem of the study was to determine whether teachers with differing local-cosmopolitan role orientations had differing perceptions of and satisfaction with the level of bureaucratization of schools in which they worked. A number of hypotheses were tested using a sample of 339 teachers in twenty Alberta schools. Findings of the study included the following: teachers were more satisfied in high than in low bureaucratic schools; locals were more loyal to and more satisfied with the organization generally; and there was little difference between the reaction of administrators to locals and their reaction to cosmopolitans.

If one is to understand how a school functions, it is necessary for one to understand not only the purposes, processes, and structural patterns of the school organization, but also to know something about the individual orientations of the teachers and their interpersonal relationships which determine, in part, the character of the school. Individuals may be classified in a number of ways one of which is a classification based on role orientation, or the constellation of attitudes that a person holds toward the performance of a particular task. Merton (1949) and Gouldner (1958) used the terms *local* and *cosmopolitan* to distinguish people within the same environment but with differing role orientations.

This distinction between locals and cosmopolitans may help to explain the differences in teachers' perceptions of organizational structure. The cosmopolitan might be classed as the professional expert who believes that his expertness is validated by the profession to which he belongs. He tends to have largely internalized the professional norms as set by professional groups beyond the local community; he tends to be committed to his professional skills and may be low on loyalty to the

organization. The local, on the other hand, tends to be loyal to the organization and to have internalized its norms; he is likely to be low on commitment to the profession. Teachers who are cosmopolitans, and therefore likely to be committed to professional skills, might be expected to be more dissatisfied with highly bureaucratic school organizations than are teachers who are locals.

Lazarsfeld and Thielens (1958) made specific reference to cosmopolitans as those who placed emphasis upon recognition by professional peers, and locals as those who placed emphasis upon approval by a college administration. Gouldner (1954), who also studied college teachers, found that locals tended to have a higher rate of sociability, and that they tended to participate more in community activities than did cosmopolitans. Gouldner also distinguished an intermediate group between locals and cosmopolitans, and these he found to participate most of all in community activities.

Sutthoff (1960) used the local-cosmopolitan dichotomy in his study of participatory behaviour in school affairs of PTA members. He found that locals and cosmopolitans differed both in the form of participation and the degree to which they participated in school matters. Cosmopolitans had read more and talked more about school issues and problems than had locals. Brumbaugh (1964) applied the terms local and cosmopolitan to teachers, and concluded that "frequently the differing perceptions of the individuals to the same environment can be attributed to local or cosmopolitan . . . orientation."

Background to the Problem

During recent years a large number of professionals, such as physicians and lawyers, have become salaried employees in organizations; members of emerging professional groups such as social workers, nurses, and teachers are almost exclusively employees. This transition of status from independent practitioner to salaried employee, has created problems which the bureaucratized professionals have attempted to solve in different ways. Some have attempted to retain their identification with a professional group; these may be classed as having a cosmopolitan orientation. Others tend to have less commitment to their profession and colleagues, and identify instead with the particular organization by which they are employed; these may be classed as having a local orientation.

Rational approaches to organizational design have tended to assume that cosmopolitans tend to be more satisfied with an organization which has fewer procedural restrictions. Cosmopolitans are likely to be oriented to an outer professional reference group and will therefore tend to pursue goals and use means which are not entirely accepted by a particular organization. Locals, on the other hand, are likely to be more in favor

of a formal structure which provides an explicit framework for their behaviour. As a result, locals may be more satisfied than cosmopolitans within a clearly-delineated and prescriptive formal structure.

It would appear from the foregoing, that an individual's local-cosmopolitan role orientation, his perception of, and satisfaction with the organization by which he is employed, and the structural characteristics of this organization, are interrelated. The sub-problems in the study were designed to investigate this interrelationship (Eddy, 1968).

Problem

The central problem of this study was an investigation of the relationships between local-cosmopolitan role orientation of teachers and descriptions or perceptions of and satisfaction with the organization of a sample of high bureaucratic and low bureaucratic schools. In addition, the principals of these schools were asked for their reactions to, or perceptions of teachers, and these reactions were related to the local-cosmopolitan role orientation of teachers in these high and low bureaucratic schools. Finally, an investigation was made of the relationships between certain selected teacher characteristics and their local-cosmopolitan role orientation.

Design of the Study

Sample

The sample of this study consisted of 339 teachers in 20 schools, two in each of ten school systems in a central region of Alberta. The superintendents of these school systems had previously rated their schools on a scale from most bureaucratic to least bureaucratic. Only schools of the same type, that is, schools which included grades one to eleven, or grades one to twelve, were used in this study, and only two schools, the one rated by the superintendent to be the most bureaucratic in each school division or county were included in the study.

Instruments

The instrument used to measure local-cosmopolitan role orientation of teachers was a scale constructed for the study which consisted of 16 local and cosmopolitan alternatives. Teachers were placed on a continuum from local, through an intermediate group designated LC, to cosmopolitan on the basis of their responses to this instrument. A cosmopolitan role-orientation was defined by responses which favored discussing a general educational problem rather than a local school problem, relying on outside resource people, and having limited interest in local community affairs. The validity of the instrument was tested by the

use of data collected from a pilot study conducted in the five public schools of one Alberta town.

The instrument used to measure the degree of bureaucratization was also constructed specifically for this study; it consisted of a 12-item scale on which superintendents and others familiar with the schools in question described organizational characteristics of the sample of schools. Among other characteristics, higher degrees of bureaucratization was defined by those which emphasized clearly defined duties, clear lines of authority, and using the specialization of teachers. A pilot study, involving a number of school superintendents and graduate university students, was conducted to test the validity of this instrument. Similar instruments were constructed to measure teacher perceptions of the level of, or degree of bureaucratization of schools, and the level of teacher satisfaction with the school organization.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data on superintendents' description of the level of school bureaucratization was collected by mail. The principals of the schools included in the study were asked to distribute and collect the teacher questionnaires and to return these, together with their reactions to teachers. Replies were received from all principals, and a 92 per cent return of usable instruments was obtained from teachers.

The major analysis of the study made use of multiple linear regression analysis (Bottenberg & Ward, 1963), while some use was also made of chi square tests. It was found that teacher perception of the level of bureaucratization varied considerably from teacher to teacher. Teachers in general perceived significantly higher levels of bureaucratization in schools that were classified as high bureaucratic on the basis of superintendents' descriptions than they perceived in schools classified as low bureaucratic. Any differences in perception of the level of bureaucratization by locals and cosmopolitans, however, was not large enough to be significant.

It was also hypothesized that teachers would be more satisfied with low bureaucratic schools. As can be seen from Table 1, the mean score for teacher satisfaction in high bureaucratic schools was 44.33 and in low bureaucratic schools the mean score was 41.57.

Table 2, row set 1, shows that the F value of 9.49 is significant at the .01 level, indicating that teachers were, in fact, significantly more satisfied with the school organization in high bureaucratic schools than they were with the school organization in low bureaucratic schools. This finding supports evidence from earlier studies by Hartley (1964), who found that teachers in schools which they perceived to be high in level of bureaucratization had a higher level of satisfaction, and by MacKay

TABLE 1

MEAN SATISFACTION OF TEACHERS IN HIGH BUREAUCRATIC AND LOW BUREAUCRATIC SCHOOLS

School Type	Role Orientation			
	Local (N=123)	LC (N=104)	Cosmopolitan (N=112)	Total (N=339)
High Bureaucratic Schools	45.80	45.46	41.17	44.33
Low Bureaucratic Schools	42.67	42.37	39.91	41.57
High Bureaucratic and Low Bureaucratic Schools	44.38	43.94	40.44	

(1964), who found that teachers favored a higher level of bureaucratization in their schools.

It has been suggested that bureaucracy is the type of organization that maximizes efficiency (Blau, 1964). The fact that bureaucracy is structured so that teachers can predict response to their future behaviour with some degree of reliability may help account for teachers regarding it more favorably than might otherwise be expected.

Other hypotheses investigated the relationship between the degree of teacher satisfaction with the school organization and local-cosmopolitan role orientation. It was hypothesized that teachers who held a local orientation would be more satisfied with the school organization than would teachers who held a cosmopolitan orientation. It was also hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect so that teachers who held a local role orientation would be more satisfied with the school organization in high bureaucratic schools, while teachers who held a cosmopolitan role orientation would be more satisfied with low bureaucratic schools.

Table 1 shows the mean score of teacher satisfaction for locals was 44.38, for LC's was 43.94, and for cosmopolitans was 40.44. The F values reported in Table 2, row sets 2, 3, and 4 show that locals and LC's are significantly more satisfied than cosmopolitans with their school organization, but that there is no significant difference in satisfaction between locals and LC's.

Table 2, row set 5, shows that there is no significant interaction effect. It would appear that, while locals are more loyal to and satisfied with the organization generally, this loyalty does not appear to be affected by whether the organization is high or low in level of bureaucratic characteristics.

TABLE 2

REGRESSION ANALYSIS RESULTS OF TEACHERS' SATISFACTION WITH SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

Row Set	Predictor	Criterion	RSQ* Unrestricted	RSQ* Restricted	df	F	P
1	Organizational classification of schools	Teachers' satisfaction with organization	.0798	.0537	1/335	9.49	.01
2	Local or LC role orientation of teachers in presence of teachers' perception of level of bureaucracy	Teachers' satisfaction with organization	.1307	.1307	1/336	.00	NS
3	Local or cosmopolitan role orientation of teachers in presence of teachers' perception of level of bureaucracy	Teachers' satisfaction with organization	.1307	.1033	1/336	10.59	.01
4	LC or cosmopolitan role orientation of teachers in presence of teachers' perception of level of Bureaucracy	Teachers' satisfaction with organization	.1307	.1013	1/336	11.38	.001
5	Organizational classification of schools and local-cosmopolitan role orientation of teachers in presence of teachers' perception of level of bureaucracy	Teachers' satisfaction with organization	.1385	.1354	2/332	.60	NS

*RSQ = squared multiple correlation.

The relationship between local-cosmopolitan role orientation and organization or administrative reactions to teachers was also investigated. It was hypothesized that teachers who held a local role orientation would be viewed more favorably as members of the organization by the principals than would teachers who hold a cosmopolitan role orientation. This hypothesis was not supported by the study.

A number of personal and professional characteristics of teachers were investigated in an attempt to describe various groups of teachers. The results from this part of the study yielded descriptions of those teachers who were found to be cosmopolitans as well as those teachers who were found to be locals, in terms of certain selected characteristics. Locals and cosmopolitans were not found to differ in the following characteristics of teachers: sex, years of teaching experience, years of experience in teaching in the same school, number of systems in which the teacher had taught, the average number of hours per week devoted to the teaching job, and marital status.

Locals differed from cosmopolitans, however, in the following characteristics of teachers: age of teachers, whether the teachers attended the school in the district in which they were teaching, number of years of academic and professional training, grade level assignment, and the degree of satisfaction with teaching as a career.

Teachers who are cosmopolitans were found to differ from teachers who are locals in that they had more years of academic and professional training, taught at a higher grade level, and had a lower degree of satisfaction with teaching as a career. Cosmopolitans were also somewhat younger than locals; and they were less likely to have attended school in the district in which they were teaching, than were locals.

Conclusions and Implications

A number of conclusions were arrived at on the basis of the evidence from this study. These may be listed as follows:

1. The findings of this study indicate that teachers may be meaningfully classified on a local-cosmopolitan scale. They may not only be classified as local teachers and as cosmopolitan teachers, but gradations of "localism" and "cosmopolitanism" are possible. Teachers can therefore be described as more or less local, or more or less cosmopolitan.

2. The instruments which were developed for this study would appear to be discriminating and useful—particularly the Instrument to Measure Local-Cosmopolitan Role Orientation and the School Bureaucracy Inventory.

3. Teacher satisfaction with the school organization is significantly related to the level of bureaucratization. There are indications that teacher satisfaction may depend as much on perceived level of bureaucratization as it does on the degree of bureaucratization determined on some other basis.

4. Locals appear to be more satisfied than cosmopolitans with the organizational characteristics of schools.

5. There does not appear to be a significant relationship between teacher satisfaction with the structural characteristics of school organization and local-cosmopolitan role orientation of teachers. Locals may be more satisfied with the organization generally, but this satisfaction does not appear to be affected by whether the organization is high or low in level of bureaucratization.

6. Results of the investigation showed that there is little, if any, difference between the way in which administrators react to cosmopolitans and the way they react to locals.

One implication of this study which school administrators should keep in mind is that teachers can be classified into several groups according to their role orientations and that teachers with different role orientations may have different approaches to their work, to their relationships with colleagues, and to relationships with the organization.

The finding that locals were significantly more satisfied with their school organization than were cosmopolitans, has important implications for administrators, also. Possibly more effort could be put into the placement of teachers, and into integrating teachers into the local schools and community. In an effort to have teachers become more satisfied with their school organization, more thought might be given to modifying the school organization to make it more compatible with characteristics favoured by cosmopolitans.

Another of the implications arising from this study relates to the finding that teachers were more satisfied with schools which they perceived to be more bureaucratic than the schools which they perceived to be less bureaucratic. If teacher satisfaction is looked upon as being desirable, then these results may lead to changes in procedures employed by at least some school administrators.

There might be an interesting relationship between teacher local-cosmopolitan role orientation and whether a teacher is acceptable in a particular school. A closely-knit, homogeneous population might show hostility to outsiders and resent cosmopolitan teachers, whereas other populations might readily accept these same cosmopolitan teachers in their schools. It is quite likely that certain types of principals in schools

accept cosmopolitans to a greater extent. This may also be true of others in the community, such as school board members.

Practicing school administrators should be conscious of differences between locals and cosmopolitans. A realization of these differences might enable administrators to anticipate the different reactions of locals and cosmopolitans in different situations, and so be better able to predict the different results of having people with different role orientations in these different situations. An understanding of the differences between local and cosmopolitan teachers should enable school administrators to make better provisions for suitable role assignments for teachers.

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WILLIAM D. KNILL
The University of Alberta

Information Storage and Retrieval for Educational Research: A Progress Report[1]

Concern about the problem of information storage and retrieval in education has resulted in an ongoing project for the classification of theses in education completed at The University of Alberta. The first phase of the project was the selection of a unidimensional classification system, and the second phase, which is now nearing completion, involved the extension to a multidimensional system. Next steps in the project will be the development of a computer program based upon keyword classification and the extension of the system to include all graduate theses in education completed in Canadian universities.

The rapid increase in knowledge being generated through educational research is precipitating a crucial problem in designing an appropriate system for information storage and retrieval. One immediately thinks about present day computers as the most promising devices and, in certain scientific disciplines where knowledge can be precisely classified, computers are now serving this function; however, for education and the social sciences no practical or economical solution has yet been fully developed.

An on-going program has been underway at The University of Alberta for four years in anticipation of the time when a feasible method of information storage and retrieval for educational research could be devised. The project has been based upon the graduate theses and dissertations completed in the Faculty of Education during the period 1929-69. Graduate theses are, at present, the major source of information based upon educational research and they provide a complete range of the kinds of knowledge about which a classification system must be concerned. Once a useful classification system for educational theses has

[1] The project has received financial support and other generous assistance from The Canadian Education Association, The Alberta Advisory Committee on Educational Research, and the Department of Educational Administration, The University of Alberta. This assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

been developed, it should be a relatively simple matter to extend it to all research in Canadian education. The major source of graduate theses in Canada has been The University of Alberta, for almost one half of the theses and dissertations in education in Canada have been completed at this institution.

The project has been developed in four phases: Phase I: (1965-67): *The selection of a unidimensional classification system that appeared most appropriate for educational research, and the assemblage and classification of all Alberta theses.* No comprehensive or complete list of theses, completed since 1929, was in existence. The University Library had retained one copy of each thesis completed, and during this period of thirty-eight years only two remain unaccounted for.

Theses were classified using a "visual bibliographic retrieval system," i.e. a printed booklet containing all the theses classified by title under eighty-seven headings selected as appropriate for the discipline of education. Author's name, degree awarded and date of acceptance were included with the full thesis title. The difficulty in applying a unidimensional classification system to educational theses became apparent immediately, and the problem increases with the growing number of theses to be classified. The continual addition of new titles to the system meant an annual revision and republication of the booklet—a costly and time consuming operation. The third revised edition consisting of sixty-six pages and 580 titles (Knill *et. al.*, 1966) marked the point of maximum utility for this particular mode of storage and retrieval. At the same time it provided only minimal amount of information about each thesis.

Phase II (1967-69): *The selection of a multidimensional classification system.* The project proceeded to a multi-dimensional classification system and, in preparation for this phase, brief abstracts of all theses were assembled.[2] The first system was replaced by the McBee Keysort method. A special design was prepared for the McBee Keysort cards, 5" x 8" in size, which provided space for the thesis abstract of approximately 150 words to be typed on the face of the card, (Balchen, 1968). The six classifications, or code fields, were punched along the four edges of the card (See Figure 1). The cards can be sorted manually in the usual McBee Keysort procedure by passing a sorting needle through the appropriate punches along the edge of the cards. They are lifted carefully by the needle and those cards which have been punched for the classification desired will fall out of the card deck.

Theses are classified according to: (1) author's name, (2) date completed, (3) department within the faculty accepting the thesis, (4) a

[2] Use was made of two previous attempts to list and abstract the theses completed at The University of Alberta: H. E. Smith, Abstracts of Theses in Education, 1929-1949; C. C. Anderson, Abstracts of Theses in Education, 1949-1958, The University of Alberta, 1949. (Mimeographed)

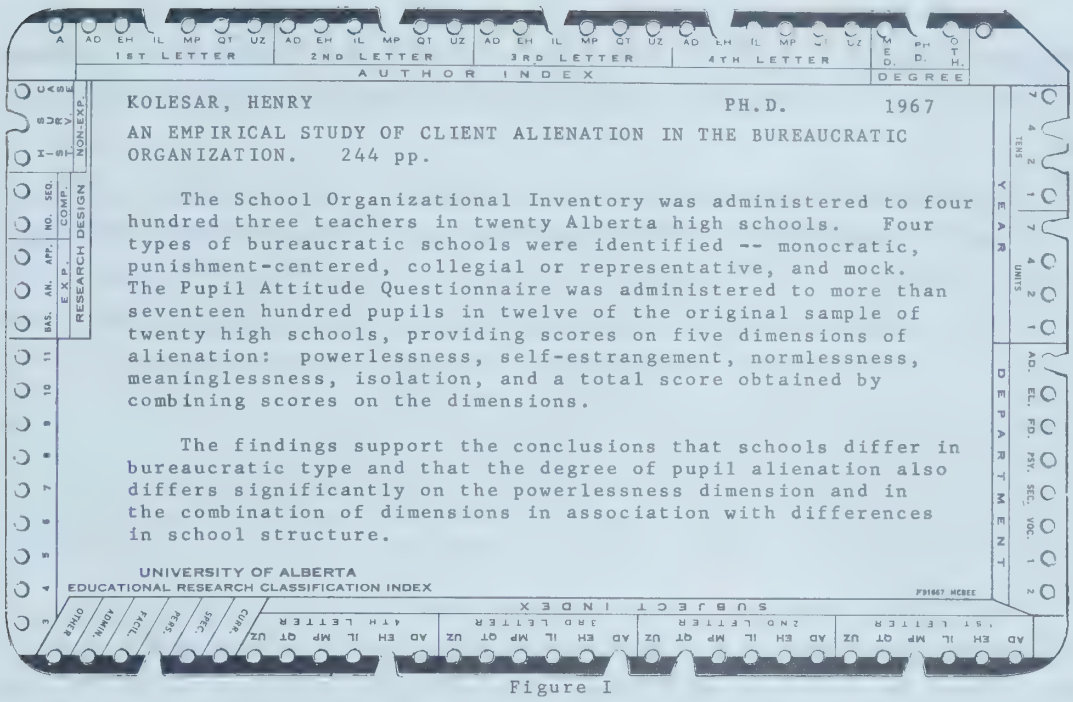
AUTHOR INDEX
1ST LETTER
2ND LETTER
3RD LETTER
4TH LETTER
DEGREE
KOLESAR, HENRY PH.D. 1967
AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF CLIENT ALIENATION IN THE BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION. 244 pp.
The School Organizational Inventory was administered to four hundred three teachers in twenty Alberta high schools. Four types of bureaucratic schools were identified -- monocratic, punishment-centered, collegial or representative, and mock. The Pupil Attitude Questionnaire was administered to more than seventeen hundred pupils in twelve of the original sample of twenty high schools, providing scores on five dimensions of alienation: powerlessness, self-estrangement, normlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and a total score obtained by combining scores on the dimensions.
The findings support the conclusions that schools differ in bureaucratic type and that the degree of pupil alienation also differs significantly on the powerlessness dimension and in the combination of dimensions in association with differences in school structure.
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH CLASSIFICATION INDEX
RESEARCH DESIGN
NON-EXP.
COMP.
NO. SEQ.
EXP.
BAS. AN. APP.
YEAR
DEPARTMENT
SUBJECT INDEX

Figure I

EXAMPLE OF MCBEE KEYSORT CARD USED IN PHASE II

Commencing at the top left-hand corner the author's name is coded by the first four letters of the surname, e.g., KOLE for Kolesar; the degree awarded, e.g. Ph. D.; the year the thesis completed, e.g. 67; the Department receiving the thesis, e.g., Department of Educational Administration; the classification of the thesis by subject, e.g. Organizational Behavior coded as ORBE, and PERS for Personnel; a blank space of nine possible punches for some future classification purpose; and the classification by research design, e.g. non-experimental, survey.

modification of the system developed in Phase I, and (5) the type of research design represented by the study. This last classification was, in fact, the only new dimension added to the system, and should prove to be of considerable value. Theses are classified along this dimension under eight headings which were defined by and derived from Galfo & Miller, 1965 and McAshan, 1963:

1. Experimental
   - (a) Basic
   - (b) Analytic
   - (c) Applied
2. Non-experimental Research
   - (a) Historical
   - (b) Survey
   - (c) Case
3. Comparative Research
   - (a) Normative
   - (b) Sequential

The advantages of the multidimensional classification system over the previous system are readily apparent: (1) location of relevant studies is expedited, (2) more information about each study is available, (3) sorting cards by any combination of six dimensions is possible thus providing a more complex analysis of theses, (4) all pertinent information on the thesis, and a brief 150 word abstract appears on the face of the Keysort which is easily handled and reproduced by any dry copy or

photographic process, (5) no restrictive or complex procedures are required, therefore information retrieval necessitates no specialized personnel.

The limitations of the system are obvious: (1) the complete deck must be maintained carefully in order that no cards are lost, (2) constant or careless use of the cards will result in the punch holes being torn, (3) the present count of 724 cards constitutes about the maximum efficiency of the needle sort method for this type of information.

Phase II is now near completion with the 165 theses, which have been accepted by the Faculty between 1967-1969 now being abstracted, classified and added to the McBee Keysort system. This will mark the complete compilation of forty years of graduate research undertaken at this University.

A concomitant project to this has been undertaken by the Education Library, The University of Alberta, with special funds provided for the microfilming of all education theses. At the present time all Ph.D. dissertations and all master's theses dating back to 1960 have been microfilmed. With a wider distribution of the thesis classification system it is now possible to have a rudimentary, but functional, information storage and retrieval system. All theses on a given subject can be located, the abstract would ascertain the relevancy of the study and each title can be ordered on microfilm, at a nominal charge each, from Interlibrary Loans, Reference Department, The University of Alberta.

Phase III (1969-): *The development of a computer program based upon a keyboard classification system.* Recent developments in information storage and retrieval systems at The University of Alberta, Department of Computing Science, make it feasible to program the kind and quantity of information at this stage of development. One project (Watts, 1969) is now underway to develop an index of concepts and keywords used in the field of physical education. A thesaurus has been designed based upon the keywords located in the title or abstracted from the body of the research report. The program is written in PL/1 language for use on the IBM 360, Model 67. A second and more comprehensive searching service using the same computer language has been undertaken by the Department of Computing Science, The University of Alberta, for the Chemical Titles project which handles more than 650 journals and searches over ten thousand titles every fortnight (Thiel & Heaps, 1968). The titles of the articles are the only output and it is still necessary to go back to the original journal article for the information required. In both cases, neither system produces detailed information—only titles which refer the searcher back to the original source. However, with an information system for educational research, where the data base is theses, it is possible to design a program that will include

abstracts of the studies. The program would be economically feasible up to approximately two thousand titles accompanied by 150-200 word abstracts.

The project is now concerned with reviewing the quality of abstracts now on hand and adding the previous year's theses to the data base. At the present time approximately eighty theses are being completed each year in the graduate program in education at The University of Alberta.

Phase IV: *The acquisition and classification of all theses titles completed at all Canadian universities.* The last phase will require considerable organization and cooperation if it is to be placed upon a continuing basis. This may have to depend upon a national organization, which will not only collect information continuously but will have the facilities to disperse information upon request. Very possibly the model of ERIC (Educational Research Information Centres), which now operates in eight locations in the United States, as clearinghouses for educational research, may be the most appropriate for our Canadian needs. A combination of the functions and services of ERIC, and University Microfilm Library Service of Ann Arbor, Michigan, complete microfilms of graduate theses and dissertations (available for purchase by individuals and libraries) may prove to be the most suitable for Canadian research purposes. However, the need for a systematic and comprehensive link between researchers and educational practitioners is becoming more urgent. This project is set up primarily to bridge the increasing information gap between research and development in education.

The beginning of any science is classification and thus the development of the science of education must be premised upon the adequacy of the classification systems designed. Consequently the significance of this project, when seen in the broader function of knowledge classification necessary to make the field of educational study more "scientific" can be better appreciated.

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LAURA THOMPSON
Brooklyn, New York
and
JOHN A. HOSTETLER
Temple University

The Hutterian Confession of Faith: A Documentary Analysis[1]

An experimental attempt is made to formulate the traditional charter of the Hutterian Brethren from sixteenth century source documents. Original texts are analyzed in terms of five categories developed for purposes of cross-cultural comparison. The purpose of the analysis is to provide a basis for illuminating the problem of culture change in belief systems and to demonstrate a scientifically valid method of charter analysis using historical sources. The authors suggest that this model may be found useful for effective comparison of value systems of mankind on a worldwide scale.

In this paper we are concerned with an analysis of the traditional charter of the Hutterians as it was originally conceived in Europe and formulated in written documents. The term charter here denotes the system of values of an institution. As is well known the analysis of a charter or value system poses certain methodological problems to the investigator seeking a systematic, impartial approach. Because these have been discussed at length in the literature,[2] here we shall merely outline our method of approach. Since it is designed for use both on historical documents and on descriptions of contemporary behaviour we

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1 The present analysis is a product of a cross-disciplinary field project designed to investigate education and marginality in several contemporary Hutterian communities located in Canada and the United States. The Project was initiated in 1962. It was sponsored by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Pennsylvania State University, financed by the United States Office of Education, and directed by Hostetler, who has done extensive research on Amish (Hostetler, 1963) and Hutterian (Hostetler, 1960, 1965; Hostetler & Huntington, 1967) communities both in the United States and Canada. Thompson was a consultant to the Project. A short version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Detroit, November, 1964. Part of it has been incorporated into Hostetler's book (1965, Ch. 4). We take this opportunity to thank Vilhjalmur Bjarnar for permission to refer to the manuscript of his translation of Sigurdur Nordal's important book on Icelandic culture, to be published by Cornell University Press.

2 For a useful bibliography, see Albert & Kluckhohn, 1959.

hope that it may serve as a workable model for core value analysis in other culture groups both of the present and the past.

The rationale behind the method of charter analysis employed in this study is a familiar one. Every human community is faced with the need to resolve a limited number of practical problems.[3] These are inherent in the existential situation of the group and in the nature of the human condition and of ecological processes. If these problems are not resolved in a relatively satisfactory manner the group's existence as an organized entity will be in danger of termination. The community will either disperse, perish as a group, or seek a similar habitat elsewhere. Members of a community organize themselves, in certain describable ways, into institutions whose purpose is to meet and resolve their crucial group problems. Each community with a unique culture has its own distinctive way of perceiving and thinking about such problems. These ways of feeling and thinking about universal human existential problems are incorporated into the charters of the institutions which the community members organize to resolve them.

For purposes of charter analysis we have listed the distinctive ways of perceiving and thinking about such universal problems in five categories as follows:[4] (1) the nature (and supernature) of the universe and its power dynamics; (2) the nature of man, the relation of man to the universe and its power sources; the relation of the sexes to each other and to the power sources; conception of the ego and its extensions beyond death or before birth; (3) the nature of animals, plants, and other living and non-living units recognized as part of the universe, and the inter-relationships between power sources, men, animals, plants, and the world of nature (and supernature); (4) the nature of the community and its preferred human relationship patterns, basic institutions, and habitual ways of thinking about status and social classes; (5) the nature of space and of times. It should be noted that for purposes of charter analysis these categories are not weighted. No one category is treated as more significant than another.

We assume that, viewed as a whole, the five categories afford a framework of conceptual relationships whereby communal behaviour patterns may be observed systematically and the relationship patterns

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[3] See, e.g., Kluckhohn & Leighton (1946, pp. xvii-xix); Thompson (1969). For a review of some problems faced by Hutterian communities, see Hostetler & Huntington (1967); Bennett, 1967.

[4] The categories were developed by Thompson (1945, 1948) in 1942-47 for purposes of core value system analysis and classification in describing the cultures of American Indian communities investigated by the staff of the Indian Education, Personality and Administration Research Project. They were based in part on an early paper by Lawrence K. Frank (1943), one of the Project's consultants. They will be recognized as similar to, but significantly different from, those developed at a later date by Florence Kluckhohn and her associates (Kluckhohn, 1950; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961, pp. 10-20).
For example, Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck (1961, p. 10, note 16) mention the space problem in a footnote, but state that they were unable to include it in their scheme because of insufficient evidence. On the importance of space concepts in culture, see Silverman (1960). For a conceptualization of time that does not fit the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck paradigm, see Lee (1950).

of their core value systems may be abstracted and compared to one another. Thus they represent an attempt to develop a universally valid model for classifying all the known ways by which a community perceives and conceptualizes the basic universal problems of group living including ideas of power, of space, and of time. By this approach it is hoped that systematic objective comparison of the Hutterian creed with comparable texts and formulations—both historical and contemporary—from other cultures throughout the world will be facilitated.

Documents and Sources

The institution whose traditional charter is under investigation is the Hutterian Church, known as the *Hutterische Brüder.* An Austrian branch of the Anabaptist movement, the *Hutterische Brüder* was founded in Moravia in 1529. After a long and bloody history of persecution and migration under pressure, the Brethren moved to America in 1874-1877. They have established colonies in South Dakota, Montana, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The permanent institution of the Hutterian Church should not be confused with its changing local membership or personnel which forms local units known as *Brüderhöfen.* Hutterian communities in Canada and the United States now number about 170, with a total population of about 16,500. The *Brüderhöfen* are distinguished from all other Anabaptist communities by their strong emphasis on common ownership of property. They practice this principle within the community more than any other Anabaptist group.[5]

Several studies have been made of Hutterian beliefs and dogma. Among them are those of Deets (1939, Ch. 4), Friedmann (1961, 1962), Heimann (1952), Hofer (1955), Müller (1938, 1963), Peters (1965), and Serl (1964). There are many sixteenth century texts which are used by Hutterians in their church services and schools; for example, the chronicles of the Brethren (Zieglschmid, 1943, 1947), the *Kleingeschichtsbuch* (Zieglschmid, 1947), *Die Lieder der hutterischen Brüder* (1914,

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[5] Data concerning contemporary versions and interpretations of the traditional Hutterian charter, as well as of other aspects of the Brotherhood's belief system, have been collected in each of the communities under investigation according to a field guide, designed to investigate the changing culture of the community, prepared by Thompson (1963 ms). The research design includes a plan to analyze the field findings for contemporary versions and interpretations of the medieval Hutterian charter as a means of determining the extent to which the belief systems of the several contemporary communities are undergoing change. It should be noted that an investigation of the "norms or rules", especially the *Gemeindeordnungen* whereby members of a Hutterian community attempt to implement the charter, has not been included in this study. According to Friedmann (1961, p. 107) "Gemeindeordnungen are the rules and regulations of the Hutterite brotherhood, also their church disciplines (although different in character from the conventional type of such documents, since church activities and everyday living were identical for the Brethren) . . . . Some thirty such Ordnungen are known from 1561 to 1665, and again of 1762, 1793, and later . . . ." He classifies the Ordnungen into two types: "(a) those dealing with the general organization and discipline of the community (*Bruderhof*), its moral and its spiritual guidance, also the formulation of the general genius of the group; (b) regulations dealing in particular with the special functions of the various members of the group, with the administration of crafts and other occupational tasks and their most careful and economic fulfillment." The *Gemeindeordnungen* were issued by bishops (*Vorsteher*) of the brotherhood, of which four are most distinguished in this respect; Peter Walpot, 1565-78; Klaus Braidl, 1583-1611; Sebastian Dietrich, 1611-19; and Andreas Ehrenpreis, 1639-62 (p. 108).

1953, 1962), the epistles (see Friedmann, 1961, p. 311), and the *Vorreden* and *Lehren* or sermons.

According to our findings, however, one document is recognized above all others by contemporary Hutterians in their theology and their legal articles of incorporation as their official confession of faith. This is Peter Rideman's *Rechenschaft unserer Religion, Lehre und Glaubens,* written in Medieval German in 1540-1541, and first printed in 1565. Rideman was an elder of the Hutterian church who spent at least nine years in prison. He states that he wrote this account "in the dry summer of the year 1540, as he lay a prisoner in Hesse."

Rideman's Confession of Faith is less polemic and more comprehensive in coverage than other extant Hutterian documents, many of which were written in defense of specific issues that brought the Hutterites into debate, court, prison, and martyrdom. We have, therefore, based our analysis of the traditional charter of the Hutterians on Rideman. The document has been analyzed with the help of an English translation by K. E. Hasenberg (Rideman, 1950).[6] We have used two other sources to support our analysis: Peter Walpot's *The great article book of* 1577, and *The defense against the Prozess at Worms on the Rhine in the year* 1557 (Anonymous).

Textual Analysis of Rideman's Confession of Faith

Conception of the Nature (and Supernature) of the Universe and its Power Dynamics

The whole universe, including all its parts, is conceived as originally created by a deity or creator who is conceived as eternal and unchanging truth (pp. 15-16).[7] There is a single source of all power (*alle Gewalt*) in the universe and this power source is deified and called God (pp. 15, 50). A gift from this power source by God to man is called grace (*Gnade,* pp. 17, 18, 49).

All that is of the deity is considered to be spiritual, unchanging and eternal (p. 22), while all that is classed as material or "created things" is considered to be transitory, changing and "temporal" (*geschweigen Werk,* p. 59). This postulated opposition between spiritual (*geistlichen*) and material (*zeitlichen,* pp. 88-89) is characteristic of the universe and underlies a fundamental dualism in Hutterian thinking (Friedmann, 1962).

The Creator, by the act of creation, established a single law of "divine order" in the universe wherein he put each part or unit into its "right" place (pp. 49-50, 52). The divine order, sometimes called God's law

[6] Friedmann studied the original medieval Austrian manuscripts as consultant to the present Project. His unpublished sources were also made available. High German and English editions of Rideman are available (Rideman, 1938, 1950).

[7] For convenience quotations with numbers in parentheses refer to pages in the 1950 English edition of the Rideman text, except where indicated.

(*Gottes Gesätz,* p. 65) or God's order (*Gottes Ordnung,* p. 88), with each part in its place as prescribed by God, is conceived as right and good (p. 82). Any digression from, or transgression of, the divine order is conceived to be evil (*Ungehorsam*) and is called sin (*Sünde,* p. 17). Good is believed to come only from God (pp. 35-36). Evil, on the other hand, is the term used to designate any breach in the divine order or transgression of God's law.

The divine order is believed to have been established through God's will. It is being fulfilled, according to the word (p. 22) or covenant (*Bund,* pp. 16, 41, 63, 67, 165) of its master, God. It is only partially and incompletely understood by man, but its rules are being revealed gradually to him by God in his covenant or testimony (p. 48). God's law is interpreted by human individuals called holy men of God or prophets, believed to be especially imbued by the deity with grace. God is thought to speak to man through the prophets (p. 48).

The divine order is conceived as expressing a fixed relationship between the deity on one hand and material or transitory things on the other. It regulates natural, as well as social, relationships. It encompasses relations between natural phenomena and the deity, and between natural phenomena and man, and it includes social relations between man and the deity, between men, and between the sexes.

According to this order, God is lord and master of all creation, which is subject to God's will and command. A hierarchy has been established among "created things" whereby man, as the property (*Eigentum*) of God (pp. 18, 91), is directly responsible to God as his servant and must "suffer the will of God" (p. 26), whereas "earth and all that adorneth it," including earth's creatures, have been given by God to man and men have been made "lords of the same" (pp. 19, 54). Man has been made lord of earth so that through earth and its creatures he may be led to God (p. 19).

Since God, the master, controls all power or grace, and man, the servant, is completely helpless without grace, man must humble and abase himself (p. 60) before God "with bent knees" (p. 79) and supplicate, honor, and try to "please" him (p. 135) so that God will not withhold his gift of grace but will give it to man. On the other hand, if man does not please God and submit to his will and his divine order, he will be overcome by his "carnal," "earthly" nature (*die Weltlichkeit*), transgress the law of God, and suffer God's wrath (p. 60) and "eternal destruction and death" (p. 59).

To be pleasing to God and to acquire grace thereby, man must follow the prescribed order with obedience (*Gehorsamkeit*) and self-surrender (*Gelassenheit*), and he must accept God's divine rule with both heart and mind. He must await the word of the master to fulfill

the same (p. 52); listen to God's messages (p. 47); and allow God's will to work in him and to express itself through his deeds, words, thoughts and feelings. Thus man may acquire faith, a gift from God to those who seek, grasp for, and fear him (p. 46). Faith represents the real divine power which renews man and makes him god-like in nature (p. 47) that he may rise to eternal life (p. 45).

The special place and role ascribed to man in the hierarchy of the divine order is dependent to some extent, but not entirely, on man's character and will. However, since only man can disobey God's commandments, the entire responsibility for evil in the world rests with man. As stated by Rideman ". . . as soon as man became perverse and turned away from God, the creation, too, became perverse for him, so that what had formerly served for his profit, good and well-being, now on the contrary serveth for his injury (p. 19)."

Of disobedience sin is born (p. 56), and this is personified in the concept of the devil, also called the enemy (*Feind*) and satan (p. 77). The devil lays snares (*Schmachen und Stricken,* p. 54) for man.

In this universe Christ, the son of God, functions as an intermediary between God and man, in the role of man's advocate and redeemer (p. 32). Christ has overcome the devil, "and removed the snare, that is sin (p. 25)." Thus Christ has delivered man from death, evil, sin, and the devil, set him free, and reconciled him with God (pp. 25, 34, 57). Christ's role as man's advocate is better understood when one considers that God can withhold or give power according to his will. God is jealous of his prerogatives and his honor (*Ehre,* pp. 15, 16, 19, 20).

Conception of the Nature of Man; The Relation of Man to the Universe and Its Power Sources; The Relation of the Sexes to Each Other and to the Power Sources; The Conception of the Ego and Its Extensions Beyond Death, and Before Birth

God created man "of earth" as part of the "whole of creation," but God "breathed upon man and he received a living soul (p. 53)." Thus God gave man the "likeness of his glory to rule over the earthly body, and to prove and show forth his nature through it, and in so doing glorify the Creator (p. 53)." God "created man solely for His honor (p. 51)."

Hence man is by nature different from all other creatures of creation in that he is both earthly flesh and blood, and heavenly "spirit" or "soul" which is "divine" and in "the likeness of God" (pp. 52-53). Thus man is endowed with a dual nature, both "carnal" and "spiritual."

According to the divine order, however, only man's "spiritual" nature is good and pleasing to God. All that pertains to his "carnal" nature is displeasing and evil. Therefore, to please God so that he may acquire

from him the gifts of grace and faith, man "should not be carnally minded but spiritually minded (p. 53)."

Since the first man, Adam, sinned, urged on by Eve who was "deceived and beguiled by the counsel of the serpent" (pp. 54-55), all men have inherited sin and an "inclination to sin" and they have also inherited death (p. 57). "Original sin (*Erbsünde*)" according to Rideman ". . . is firstly the cause of physical death for men, for originally they were created and placed in life, so that there was naught corrupt in them (p. 57)." But sin "planted the devil's likeness in [men] and clove forever to them (p. 55)." Because sex is sinful, all men are conceived and born in sin and have "by nature a tendency toward evil and to have pleasure in sin (p. 57)." Indeed, "the imagination and desire of man's heart is evil from his youth (p. 57)."

But God has given men, above all creatures, "reason, understanding and sense (p. 51)." God gave man a conscience by which he might recognize sin and thereby feel guilt (p. 60). But man's sinfulness dishonors the Creator and makes him angry (p. 55). Guilt over sin may be assuaged only by true self-surrender (*Gelassenheit,* p. 91), and repentance for transgressions before God (p. 61).

Sin leads to destruction and death. The only way to overcome death is through Christ (pp. 57-58) for in him God took on human nature "that death might thereby be overwhelmed (p. 23)." "He is the Saviour who hath robbed death of its power, torn its bond and snare asunder and set us, his people, free (p. 23)."

Although children are born in sin and with a tendency to sin, this condition may be mitigated if they are brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord (p. 130)." The Hutterites say: "It is our endeavor to bring up the children in divine discipline, and to plant in their hearts the right morals and commandments of God (Anonymous, 1956, p. 221)."

Relation of the sexes to each other and to the power source. The position of the sexes in the social and spiritual hierarchy of the Hutterian Brethren is very important in the charter. It is believed that God has set each sex in its right place in the divine order in relation to the other. Man, as contrasted to woman, is made in the image of God. He has been put in a superordinate place in the divine order in relation to woman who was taken from man.

The prescribed relation between the sexes and assumption of male dominance is embodied in the institution of marriage which, according to Hutterian belief, mirrors the divine order. Through marriage man is ordained by God to be "lord" and "head of the woman" as "the spirit is head of the body, and God is head of the spirit (p. 98)." He, "as the one in whom something of God's glory is seen, should have compassion on the woman as the weaker instrument, and in love and kindness go

before her and care for her, not only in temporal but also and still more in spiritual things; and faithfully share with her all that he hath been given by God (p. 99)." Woman who has "weakness, humility, and submission" should be "under the yoke of man and obedient to him" according to God's commandment (pp. 98, 101). Man should go before woman "in honesty, courage and all the Christian virtues, that in him she may have a mirror of righteousness, an instigation to blessedness and a leader to God (p. 99)."

Marital relations are permitted only in view of the procreation of children and should be without lust. Stradler (Friedmann, 1962, p. 16) explains, "If man had remained pure and good as he was created by God, then also insemination would have functioned without lust and evil urges. But now it is no longer this way. God, however, winks at our marital work for the sake of our children, and he does not incriminate against those who act in fear and discipline."

Conception of the ego and its extensions. The ego is believed to be completely without power or grace unless it is given these "gifts" (p. 88) by God. Indeed, it is not only powerless in the sense of not controlling any real power but it is sinful and debased (p. 35). By true humility and repentance for sin the ego may, if God so wills, be given the gift of grace and thereby extended beyond death into "eternal life" (p. 45). Only unconditional obedience (*Nachfolge*) and self-surrender (*Gelassenheit*) may permit the "gifts" of God to take effect in man.

The meaning of eternal life has not been "properly and fully" revealed to man, but it is believed that at the day of "last judgment" God will appear to man "face to face" (p. 45) and man shall "know God, who is eternal and who maketh man eternal and to live eternally (p. 45)." Then those who know him "shall rejoice with him with eternal joy (p. 45)."

Conception of the Nature of Animals, Plants and Other Living and Non-Living Units Recognized as Part of the Universe, and the Interrelationship Between Power Sources, Man, Animals, Plants and the World of Nature.

All "created things" — "the sun with the whole course of the heavens, day, air and such like . . . are made common to man (pp. 19, 54, 89)." He has been ordained by the divine order to rule over them not as man's "private possession" (p. 89) but as God rules man. In other words, the created order including property may not become an extension of man's ego. According to Walpot (1947, p. 42), "Owning and ownership is against the nature and character of God's creation . . . no man should take to himself what is God's, anymore than he can divide the air, rain, snow, or water, also the sun, moon, and the elements. Even so temporal

goods . . . may not be made one's own . . . the desire and love of money is neither natural nor necessary . . . it is an acquired evil, coming from the counsel of the serpent and the devil . . . ."

Thus "created things" are not to be held privately, as property or an extension of one's ego, but all things are to be held in common. ". . . God from the beginning ordained naught private for man, but all things to be common (p. 88)." If, however, man raises up and honors "created things" as though they were God, he steps out of God's order and forsakes it (p. 88).

Conception of the Nature of Community and Its Preferred Social Relationship Patterns, Basic Institutions, and Habitual Ways of Thinking About Social Class and Status.

Community (*Gemeinschaft*) implies a group of members ("personnel" in Malinowski's terminology) of the church who are united in fellowship of the Holy Spirit under the leadership of the "spirit of Christ (p. 105)." This is called "the community of the Church of Christ (p. 92)," the "communion of saints (p. 88)," or "the children of God (p. 92)." The community is conceived as a foretaste or lobby (*Vorhof*) to life after death.

In this community of the Church there shall be equality in temporal things and all goods shall be held in common. As Rideman (p. 43) states: "Community . . . is naught else than those who have fellowship have all things in common together, none having aught for himself, but each having all things with the others, even as the Father hath nothing for Himself, but all that He hath He hath with the Son, and again, the Son hath nothing for Himself, but all that He hath, He hath with the Father and all who have fellowship. Thus all those who have fellowship with Him likewise have nothing for themselves, but have all things with their Master and with all those who have fellowship with them, that they might be one in the Son as the Son is in the Father. It is called the community of saints because they have fellowship in holy things; yes, in those things whereby they are sanctified, that is in the Father and the Son, who Himself sanctifieth them with all that He hath given them. Thus everything serveth to the betterment and building up of one's neighbor and to the praise and glory of God the Father (p. 43)."

The leadership of this community is the Holy Spirit. ". . . there is no Church of Christ save that which the Holy Spirit gathereth, ruleth, teacheth, and directeth (pp. 91-92)." Its membership is composed of those who yield themselves to the rule of the Holy Spirit. "Now those who surrender themselves to the Spirit that the same might rule over them, yield themselves to the Church of Christ, in which the Holy Spirit

worketh (p. 2)." Conversely, those who yield themselves to sin, separate themselves from the Church and if they actually leave the community, they go still more deeply into destruction (p. 92). Hence all those who defect are considered to be moving toward destruction.

In the community of the Church where all are childlike and equal under the leadership of the Holy Spirit within God's law, other official leadership roles, such as judge (p. 114), magistrate, policeman and priest (pp. 95-96) are proscribed. Each member is expected to watch over his fellows and admonish anyone who commits a fault under threat of being brought before the Church and if he does not repent, under penalty of being banned from the Church community (p. 132). Those who have committed a deadly sin, such as fornication, covetousness, idolatry, raillery, drunkenness, or robbery are excluded from the community, and especially from its common meals, without admonition. In such cases, however, a distinction is made between willful sinning, and sinning in haste through "weakness of the flesh." The former is judged more severely than the latter (p. 132).

In all these cases, the Church, rather than any one individual, has been given power, by divine law, "to exclude and to accept," as well as to forgive members. "Therefore, whatsoever she [the Church] excludeth is excluded, but whatsoever she forgiveth is forgiven here and in eternity, and apart from her there is no forgiveness, no goodness, no healing and salvation, no true comfort or hope. For within her and not without her is and dwelleth the Father, Son and Holy Ghost who maketh all things good, and justifieth (p. 44)." Hence, according to the Hutterian charter, power may be delegated by God to Christ, and by Christ to the Church, but never from the Church to any one individual.

The community of the Church of Christ has been sought out, selected, and accepted by God through Christ to be "a people for himself (p. 38)," holy and without blemish, and it has been separated from all nations so that it might serve God "with one mind and heart (p. 93)." Its law is the law of God and "all temporal things are foreign" to it (pp. 112-113). Therefore members of the community of the Church should not go to civil law or accept appointment as a judge or government official (pp. 105, 112-114). Government is a sign of man's departure from God (p. 104).

Furthermore, members of the Church should not practice vengeance or make or bear arms (p. 111), but they should willingly pay taxes which are not to be used for purposes of war (p. 109). Christians may make and use what is made for the benefit and daily use of man, such as bread, knives, axes, hoes, and the like, "as well as plain clothes to meet their needs (pp. 112, 134)." Whatever "serveth but pride, magnificance and vanity" they do not make that they may keep their "conscience unspotted before God (p. 112)."

The members of the community come together for thanksgiving and prayer and for the Lord's Supper (p. 130). When they come together they give thanks, pray to keep faithful and devout, and proclaim the Lord's word faithfully (p. 129). They do not make or bow down to graven images, nor do they meet in temples of stone or wood, since temples "originated through the instigation of devils" and "are hated of God (p. 93)."

Many other community regulations (*Gemeindeordnungen*) are spelled out in detail by Rideman and in the chronicles (Zieglschmid, 1943, 1947) and other sources, but most of these are more properly classified as "norms" rather than as "charter".

Habitual Conceptualization of Space and Time

According to the original Hutterian charter, the universe is conceived spatially as composed of two parts. An upper part, called heaven, is sometimes described as consisting of many subdivisions. The uppermost is called the Throne of God (pp. 19, 33), while the lower heavens are known as the abodes of the angels who occasionally serve as messengers of the deity to earth. The lower part of the universe is composed of two subdivisions: earth and hell (p. 30), the place of captivity (*Ort des Gefängnis*), or the abyss (*Abgrund,* pp. 15, 25). Unclean spirits are associated with the abyss (p. 25).

Time is regarded as an endless unchanging duration called eternity (pp. 45, 135). Within the timeless duration, that which is temporal and changing becomes manifest briefly in material form in fulfillment of the divine order of the universe.

Because the created order of space, including the objects in it, was made by God, man may not possess such objects as his own, as noted above (Walpot, 1957, p. 42).

Findings

To summarize our findings, the Hutterian Confession of Faith posits a single source of power in the universe. This source is deified and called God. Power is envisioned as an invisible, all-pervasive, supernatural power dispensed only according to the will of God who is perceived as the omnipotent creator of the world. By the act of creation God is believed to have established a single absolute law or "divine order" in the world. For purposes of this analysis, the divine order may be thought of as God's preferred relationship pattern as it is presupposed in the original Hutterian charter.

The universe is conceived spatially as composed of an upper part called heaven and a lower part called the abyss. An ephemeral earth

separates the two. Within the timeless, changeless duration called eternity, that which is temporal and changing becomes manifest briefly in material form in fulfillment of the divine law.

The nature and organization of the community are believed to have been ordained by God's law including the exact place, role and function of every individual and object within it. Man has been made master of earth and all things within it, including woman, so that man may be led to God whose servant he is believed to be. The basic institution of the community is considered to be the Church of Christ defined as a spiritual fellowship of its members under the leadership of the Spirit of Christ. Other official leadership roles, such as judge, magistrate, policeman and priest, are proscribed. Members of the community of the Church shall not go to law or accept appointment as government officials. There shall be equality among men in temporal things and all goods shall be held in common. Members shall willingly pay taxes which are not to be used for purposes of war, and they shall not practice vengeance or bear arms. Each member of the community is expected to watch over his fellows, however, and admonish anyone who commits a fault under threat of being brought before the Church and, if he does not repent, under penalty of being excommunicated from the Church and shunned by the Church community.

The divine order is believed to be right and good, while any transgression of it is considered to be evil and generative of sin and death. There is a preoccupation with sin and death, which are conceptualized as sequentially related, if not equivalent concepts. The divine order is believed to be only partially understood by man. It's rules are being revealed gradually by God who gave man reason, sense, and a conscience by which he might recognize evil or sin and feel guilt. Thus man is thought to have been created different from all other creatures in that he is by nature both carnal and spiritual. Man is made in the image of God, and woman has a subordinate place to him. Human nature is believed to be carnal and evil whereas spiritual nature is good, and man's masculine role is of central importance in the universal scheme.

Prominent in this world view is a conception of the extension of man's ego beyond death dependent to some extent on his spiritual development. Belief in an extension of the ego before birth is absent. If man does not willingly and whole-heartedly accept God's order and humble himself before God, he will not only *not* acquire "grace" leading to eternal life, but he will be judged and condemned by God to receive the "reward of evil."

Thus there is a double edge to God's judgment in that man, if God so wills, shall be rewarded for right feelings, thoughts and behaviour, but he shall also be severely punished for wrong ones. At the same time,

man may follow all the prescribed rules of behaviour, thought, and feeling and still not find favor with God and win grace, without which man is believed to be powerless. Ultimately God gives or withholds the gift of "grace" to man according to God's will. Thus there seems to be an element of whimsy and uncertainty in the medieval Hutterian view of the universal power structure.

Both a concept of immanent justice and a concept of immanent punishment are important, the latter being especially stressed. On the other hand, man's and especially woman's, relatively unfavorable situation regarding the Godhead power source and the acquisition of "grace" is somewhat mitigated by the role of Christ, the son of God, who functions before God as man's official intermediary and advocate.

Comparisons

Comparing these findings with comparable charters, historical and contemporary, one cannot fail to note the breadth, comprehensiveness, unity and ideological consistency of the Hutterian official creed. Explicitly it lays down absolute tenets believed to underlie the only permissible conception of the natural and social order; its one primary institution, the Hutterian Church; and its secondary institutions including marriage and the family, the local community, and the communal economy. The charter defines the accepted relationship pattern between primary and secondary institutions in the Hutterian community and the place and role of every member of the community, as well as all organic and material objects recognized as important to the Hutterian life way. The approved status system is spelled out, including leadership roles that are permitted and those that are not. The Confession of Faith also posits a sacred code of law and penalties for its transgression. The code includes what *is* allowed as well as what is *not* allowed and also the punishments and rewards attached to conformity and nonconformity. And finally, supplemented by official norms or rules, the charter translates the prescribed order and code into the patterns of behaviour, thought, speech, and feeling that are deemed appropriate and those that are considered inappropriate at every recognized social level to the most minute details of daily life.

A systematic comparison of the difference between the present findings and comparable belief systems in other communities with contrasting cultures is beyond the scope of this paper. We suggest, however, that such a comparison may be expected to contribute to our understanding of certain aspects of, and implications in, the traditional culture patterns of the Hutterites.

To illustrate, the structure of beliefs revealed by our analysis of a sixteenth-century Hutterian creed contrasts strikingly with that of the Hopi Indians of Arizona as revealed by an analysis of ceremonial behaviour in the orthodox mesa villages. According to Thompson (1961):

> The Hopis apparently conceive the universe as a complex ordered system which is regulated by an inherent, logical principle. All phenomena relevant to the Hopi life way—including man, animals and plants, the earth, sun, moon, clouds, the ancestors and the spirits—are believed to be related in a complex interdependent fashion through this principle which might be thought of as a natural law of mutual correlativity. According to this principle, the various orders and suborders of the universe work together for the common good of all by exchanging values or services which are equivalent but not identical. Man, the elements, the animals and plants, the deities and supernatural powers are believed to interact in an orderly fashion by means of a complex set of transactive relationships in an inherently harmonious and cooperative cosmos structurally geared to enhance the mutual welfare of all.
>
> In this supersystem each unit, human and nonhuman, has its place and role in relation to all other units. But man's role is different from that of any other unit in that he must participate in a positive, active way in effectuating the law. This may be accomplished in each village by means of an elaborate annual ceremonial cycle. To the Hopis, the movements of the sun, the coming of rain, the growth of crops, the reproduction of animals and men depend on man's correct, complete, and active participation, on the behavioral, ideational and emotional levels, in the fulfillment of the cosmic law [pp. 174-175].

Thus it seems that these American Indians assign to man a highly responsible *central* role in the cosmic scheme and they believe that the world order is comprehensible and understood by man.

The Hutterian conception of the universe as formulated by Rideman also contrasts, for example, with that of the pre-Christian medieval Icelanders who practiced the traditional Scandinavian religion. While viewing their subarctic world realistically (from the viewpoint of modern science) as dangerous, unpredictable and only partially known to man, the Icelanders envisioned man as capable, solely on his own and without the help of outside agencies, of triumphing over life and even over death by the victory of his own inner spiritual strength (Phillpotts, 1931, pp. 93-94; Thompson, 1961, pp. 193-195; Wax, 1957). They believed that although man could not conquer fate, viewed in terms of an unpredictable, incomprehensible, remote and impersonal force ruling gods as well as men, he could conquer *himself* because the power of fate could not reach the innermost core of man's being and overwhelm his courage and will (Grönbech, 1931; Nordal, pp. 179-181).

Also striking to the student of comparative value systems is the rigid, relatively humorless nature of the Hutterian creed and the conception of the cosmic power structure that it reveals, compared to many other such charters. The charter underlying the traditional public religious institutions of the Dahomey of Africa, as described by Herskovits (1938, pp. 101, 201-230), may serve as an example. An analysis of Herskovits' description suggests that the Dahomey religious charter postulates an ordered world which has a built-in principle of immanent punishment

and reward. Sky gods control the vital, immanent power of this universe and these gods rule the destinies of men. But the sky gods delegate the execution of their will to lower gods. Their instructions to the lower gods are transmitted by Legba, the messenger and spokesman of the gods. Unexpected and unpredictable events which do not fit into the Dahomeys' image of an ordered world are accounted for by the rationalization that Legba is a trickster who frequently garbles such messages and thus may change a man's fate (see also Bohannan, 1964, p. 226). Hence world order as experienced by man may be unpredictable and unreliable, and a "way out" (Herskovits, 1938, p. 222) has not been denied to man.

By contrast, in the traditional Hutterite document which has been analyzed, man despite his acknowledged innate weaknesses, is given no quarter, no alternative "way out." The Rideman text expresses a deadly serious, all-or-nothing philosophy in which man's position is precarious. Man's biological heritage including his organic nature, although recognized, is rejected, condemned, and outlawed. It should be noted that this aspect of the traditional Hutterian charter—with its implicit expectation of development of a high degree of what modern psychologists call "conscious control" as compared to "inner (or unconscious) control" on the part of each individual—to the extent that it is implemented in behaviour, may be expected to strain severely the individual's capacity for conscious control as revealed by modern psychological research (Henry, 1956).[8]

A systematic cross-cultural comparison of comparable charters may help to clarify the role of institutionalized value orientations in culture and personality processes. Although such comparisons are notably hazardous within the limitations of research methodology, the relatively wide-spread existence of latent fear and anxiety in modern Hutterian communities may prove to be significant in this respect, including the feeling of deprivation experienced especially by many Hutterite women, as reported by Kaplan and Plaut (1956, pp. 82, 83) on the basis of findings from a battery of psychological tests. Rates of frank psychosis are also significantly higher among Hutterite women than men (.77 men to each woman patient, according to Eaton and Weil, 1955, pp. 78-79).

We suggest that a systematic study of the available comparative data may tend to reduce the ethnocentric bias of investigators with a Western European background and help to place traditional creed and core value systems, including those of the Hutterites, in appropriate global cultural perspective.

[8] Henry (1956) states: ". . . it is obvious that no individual can go through life with a satisfactory sense of balance without some use of societal-determined rules to guide him in situations which he cannot integrate directly into his own inner need-systems. The use of these rules and principles may be called *conscious control*. When there is excessive emphasis upon guidance by these rules and a concomitant loss of personal spontaneity, the individual may be called constricted (p. 128)."

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CHRISTIAN A. STUHR
The Confederation College of Applied Arts and Technology, Thunder Bay, Ontario
and
E. N. WRIGHT
Board of Education for the City of Toronto

Marks and Patterns of Parental Mobility in a Downtown School

The relationship between residential mobility and school achievement was investigated for a asmple of 158 children in Kindergarten through grade 5. Families were classified as either Anglo-Saxon or non-Anglo-Saxon and were further divided into three mobility groups: stable, intermediate, and mobile. There was a significant relationship between ethnic origin of parents and mobility and also between past mobility and marks earned for the total sample. When the sample was divided along ethnic lines, the relationship between past mobility and academic performance was significant only for children from Anglo-Saxon families. The authors suggest that the reasons for change of residence and not just the fact of a change should be considered in future research.

In recent years a number of research projects have dealt with the relationship between high residential mobility and the academic achievement of young children. Unfortunately, much of the work to date has been inconclusive, and the results of the various studies often contradict each other.

Tetreau & Fuller (1942) found that residential mobility has "some relation" to school achievement. Nyberg (1956) found a significant relationship between mobility and marks received in Social Studies, though not in Reading, Literature, Language, Mathematics, and Science. Brockman & Reeves (1967), in their report on a study of 1,341 pupils enrolled in the Edmonton Separate School System as of June, 1964, conclude that there is a causal relationship between mobility and achievement:

"Transiency affects the achievement of students, particularly girls, at all levels of ability."

On the other hand, Huus (1945) found no significant relationship between residential mobility and reading achievement. Bollenbacher (1962) reports that ". . . achievement in reading and arithmetic as measured by standardized tests was not affected by . . . mobility . . .", but that "pupils . . . who moved most often were consistently the least capable, as measured by a group intelligence test."

The primary aim of the present study was to investigate further the relationship between residential mobility and school achievement. A prior report (Stuhr, 1967) describes factors related to the mobility of the population reported on below.

Research Design and Procedure

Duke of York Public School, in downtown Toronto, was designated an experimental school in the Spring of 1965. This, it was hoped, would lead to the development of a programme to cope with some of the problems commonly faced by inner-city schools. However, it soon became apparent that the high rate of residential mobility among the families of the students posed a serious obstacle to the evaluation of the experimental programme. Moreover, the high rate of student transfers was found to have implications for curriculum development, staff morale, and student scholastic achievement. It was in view of these difficulties that the Research Department of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto undertook a study of residential mobility among the families of children attending Duke of York Public School.

Parental information was obtained by interview with the mother, or if she was not available, the father or guardian. The initial sample consisted of 358 families representing the pupils (Kindergarten through Grade 5) at Duke of York Public School. This sample included, in some cases, non-parental adults responsible for the children. The sample was randomly divided into four approximately equal parts, designated Waves A, B, C, and D. Wave A was used in the pre-testing programme.

After pre-testing was completed, interviewing of the remaining parents began. Initially, interviewing was conducted by telephone; however, it was found that this method resulted in fewer completed interviews than had been anticipated. For this reason, it was decided to conduct face-to-face interviews in cases in which no contact was made after three telephone calls had been attempted. All such interviews were conducted during the summer vacation in 1966.

Disposition of the Sample

Of the 358 families, 74 were used for pre-testing; of the 284 interviews attempted, 158 were completed; of the 223 telephone interviews

attempted, 134 were completed; of the 61 face-to-face interviews attempted, 24 were completed.

The 158 completed parent interviews represent 319 students at Duke of York Public School and 92 students at other schools. Where the family had more than one child attending grades Kindergarten through Grade 5 at Duke of York, one child was randomly selected to represent that family. The Ontario School Record files of these 158 children were examined. The marks obtained by these children in the subjects of Reading, Writing, Spelling, Composition, Mathematics, Science, Art and Music during the school years from 1960-61 to 1964-65 inclusive, were recorded and related to the children's history of residential mobility. (Since 1965, as part of its new programme, Duke of York has not used or recorded formal marks.)

For the purposes of this study, the 158 families were divided into three mobility groups. Families which had reported living at the same address during the five years preceding the survey were classified as *Stable;* families which reported having lived at two addresses during that time, as *Intermediate;* families which reported having lived at three or more addresses, as *Mobile.* On this basis, 59 families (37%) were placed in the Stable group, and 49 families (31%) in each of the Intermediate and Mobile groups. For one family no background information was available. Because of this lack of information, not all tables include the full sample of 158.

Results

Table 1 shows a significant relationship between the ethnic origin of the parents and the number of addresses at which they had lived during the past five years. Families in which both parents were born in Canada, the United States, or the United Kingdom were classified as *Anglo-Saxon;* families in which either parent was born in another country were classified as *non-Anglo-Saxon.* Only slightly more than one-quarter (28%) of the 89 Anglo-Saxon families had lived at the same address for a five-year period; fully half of the 68 non-Anglo-Saxon families had done so. Anglo-Saxons are significantly more mobile than non-Anglo-Saxons among the survey population.

Relationship Between Past Mobility and School Grades

A strong relationship was found between past mobility and the letter grades earned by the children in a number of subjects. One hundred and five (105) of the pupils had received some marks in one or more of eight subjects during the period from September, 1960 to June, 1965; the rest of the pupils were too young to have been assigned marks. The relationship between past mobility and letter grades earned in all subjects is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 1

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PAST MOBILITY AND ETHNIC ORIGIN OF PARENTS

Number of Addresses During Last Five Years	Ethnic Origin		Totals
	Both Parents Anglo-Saxon	Either or Both Non-Anglo-Saxon	
One	25	34	59
Two	32	17	49
Three or more	32	17	49
Totals	89	68	157

Chi-Square = 7.89; $p<.05$

TABLE 2

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PAST MOBILITY AND MARKS EARNED IN ALL SUBJECTS

Mark	Past Mobility			Totals[a]
	Mobile	Intermediate	Stable	
A	44	35	93	172
B	106	101	139	346
C	268	213	349	830
D	123	69	90	282
E	44	38	38	120
Totals	585	456	709	1750

Chi-Square = 34.42, df=8; $p<.05$

[a]105 pupils, 1750 marks

Generally, high mobility is related to a greater number of D's and E's received. Only 18 per cent of the marks earned by pupils in the Stable group are in this range. Among pupils of Intermediate mobility, the percentage of D's and E's moves up to 23 per cent, and reaches 29 per cent in the Mobile group.

Conversely, the children in the Stable group have earned a higher proportion of A's. Both among the Mobile and the Intermediate group,

only 8 per cent of the grades received are A's; among Stable pupils, 13 per cent of all grades earned were A's.

The relationships between past mobility and grades received in individual subjects were examined as well. Significant relationships were found in Reading, Spelling, Composition, Mathematics, and Music; in some of these cases, certain categories had to be collapsed before significance was attained. In all of these cases a higher degree of past mobility was found to be associated with a greater proportion of lower marks earned and a smaller proportion of higher marks earned.

No significant relationships between past mobility and marks earned were found in Writing, Science, and Art.

Ethnic Origin and the Relationship Between Past Mobility and Marks

Among the sample as a whole, a significant relationship was found between past mobility and letter grades received in all subjects. This relationship holds among the Anglo-Saxon subgroups of the sample; it does not, however, hold among non-Anglo-Saxon pupils.

Table 3 shows a significant relationship between past mobility and marks earned in all subjects among children of Anglo-Saxon families. Table 4 shows no such relationship among children of non-Anglo-Saxon families. (Tables 3 to 7 refer to the number of marks earned, not the number of pupils.)

TABLE 3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PAST MOBILITY AND MARKS EARNED IN ALL SUBJECTS FOR "ANGLO-SAXON" PUPILS

Mark	Past Mobility			Totals[a]
	Mobile	Intermediate	Stable	
A	34	28	43	105
B	85	76	80	241
C	228	179	183	590
D	113	54	54	221
E	40	34	18	92
Totals	500	371	378	1249

Chi-Square = 25.35, df=8; $p<.05$

[a]70 pupils, 1249 marks

It might be tempting to conclude from this that a history of residential mobility has a causal effect in one case but not in the other. Such an inference, however, is not justified on the basis of the available evidence. An alternative explanation will be proposed below. However, some

TABLE 4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PAST MOBILITY AND MARKS EARNED IN ALL SUBJECTS FOR "NON-ANGLO-SAXON" PUPILS

Mark	Past Mobility			Totals[a]
	Mobile	Intermediate	Stable	
A	10	7	50	67
B	21	25	59	105
C	40	34	166	240
D	10	15	36	61
E	4	4	20	28
Totals	85	85	331	501

Chi-Square = 11.99, df=8; not significant

[a]35 pupils, 501 marks.

preliminary questions must be answered first. The ethnic differences just noted must be examined more closely. Specifically, it must be asked whether these differences are found among all three mobility groups, or just among one or two.

The analysis shows that there is no significant difference between the academic performance of Anglo-Saxon children and non-Anglo-Saxon children in either the Intermediate group (Table 6) or the Stable group (Table 7). Only among the Mobile group can a significant difference be found (Table 5). These findings suggest that there are some additional

TABLE 5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND MARKS EARNED IN ALL SUBJECTS FOR MOBILE PUPILS

Mark	Ethnic Origin		Totals[a]
	Anglo-Saxons	Non-Anglo-Saxons	
A	34	10	44
B	85	21	106
C	228	40	268
D	113	10	123
E	40	4	44
Totals	500	85	585

Chi-Square = 9.90, df=4; $p<.05$

[a]34 pupils, 585 marks

TABLE 6

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND MARKS RECEIVED IN ALL SUBJECTS FOR PUPILS OF INTERMEDIATE MOBILITY

Mark	Ethnic Origin		Totals[a]
	Anglo-Saxons	Non-Anglo-Saxons	
A	28	7	35
B	76	25	101
C	179	34	213
D	54	15	69
E	34	4	38
Totals	371	85	456

Chi-Square = 5.62, df=4; not significant

[a]29 pupils, 456 marks

TABLE 7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND MARKS RECEIVED IN ALL SUBJECTS FOR STABLE PUPILS

Mark	Ethnic Origin		Totals[a]
	Anglo-Saxons	Non-Anglo-Saxons	
A	43	50	93
B	80	59	139
C	183	166	349
D	54	36	90
E	18	20	38
Totals	378	331	709

Chi-Square = 5.14, df=4; not significant

[a]42 pupils, 709 marks

important differences between Mobile Anglo-Saxons and Mobile non-Anglo-Saxons; and these differences are not found among the Intermediate or Stable groups.

Another way of stating this is to say that one subgroup, the Mobile Anglo-Saxons, differs from the other subgroups.

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, the findings of this study are that among the inner-city population represented by the sample:

1. Families in which both parents were born in an Anglo-Saxon country are significantly more mobile than families in which either or both parents are of non-Anglo-Saxon birth (Table 1).

2. There is, among the sample as a whole, a significant relationship between past mobility and marks earned in all subjects. In general, children with a history of high mobility tend to do less well in school than children who have moved little or not at all (Table 2).

3. When the sample is divided along ethnic lines, the relationship between past mobility and academic performance is significant only for the children from Anglo-Saxon families; non-Anglo-Saxon mobile pupils do not earn significantly lower grades than non-Anglo-Saxon pupils with a background of less mobility (Tables 3 and 4). Moreover, there is no significant difference between the academic performance of Anglo-Saxon pupils and non-Anglo-Saxon pupils except in the Mobile subgroup (Tables 5, 6, and 7).

These findings suggest that while among some segments of the population, school achievement is related to residential mobility, the theory that mobility is a *cause* of poor school performance is not substantiated. Certainly mobility, in and of itself, is not a *sufficient* cause of lower academic achievement; we must look beyond mobility to understand children's performance in school.

Indeed, the reasons for any change in residence may be more important to the child than the move itself. Some families are evicted; some move because a pay raise has made better housing affordable; some move to avoid bill collectors; some move when they have saved the down payment for a house; some move to a new job in another city. Not all of these reasons generate high mobility; this happens only when changing jobs or running from bill collectors becomes chronic. In some cases, a move may be related to a lowering of academic performance because of the circumstances surrounding it; in other cases, a happy atmosphere generated by the father's promotion to another city may actually be conducive to good school work.

This reasoning would explain the ethnic differences noted here. One explanation which suggests itself is that the small group of mobile Anglo-Saxons contains a high proportion of families in which the home environment is not conducive to good scholarship; conversely, the mobile non-Anglo-Saxons may be achievement-oriented, and indeed this may

be one reason for their moving. A testable hypothesis is that the presence of domestic tranquility and achievement motivation will be associated with good academic performance, regardless of the amount of residential mobility.

The extent to which these findings are applicable beyond the sample is not clear. Some of the specific findings, such as the conclusion that the children from mobile Anglo-Saxon families do less well in school, may only be applicable to limited income inner-city families. Others, such as the hypothesis that achievement is related to home environment, are probably much more general in nature.

In any case, residential mobility appears to mean different things to different people. Future research should take these differences into account before proceeding to generalizations.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Publications No. 58 and No. 59 of The Scottish Council for Research in Education. London: University of London Press, 1969.

Sixteen Years On: A Follow-Up of the 1947 Scottish Survey

By James Maxwell (Publication No. 58).

At least once in a lifetime any person engaged in the practice of education can expect to come face to face with the question: What am I really accomplishing, if anything? To this question a number of responses present themselves, some trite, others more thoughtful. The trite response is of the nature of rapid retreat under cover of apologia centred on the problems of evaluation. The thoughtful ones too, frequently founder on the issue or process or product.

For those who despair of evaluating the process of teaching, but who are reluctant to glorify examination success as the ultimate objective, *Sixteen Years On* is a report of an attempt to evaluate the outcomes of an educational system after one-third of a lifetime of exposure.

The survey was commenced in 1947 with a battery of tests on a group of 1208 Scottish children selected at random from the population born in 1936. Their progress was carefully charted through school and early employment, and reported in *Eleven-Year-Olds Grow Up*. The present report presents the sequel in terms of later education, employment, marriage and growth of family to 1963. The report concludes with chapters on personal characteristics, leisure activities, national service, and younger siblings. The fact that closing information was available for 92 per cent of the group (including 208 who left Scotland) attests to the efficiency and dedication of both researchers and subjects.

The findings are reported in chapters devoted to each of the above mentioned areas, and constitute primarily a sociological survey with a liberal presentation of statistical data. The tedium of reading is lightened in places by anonymous references to illustrative cases or interesting departures, but no attempt is made to cater for a wide readership as was done by Havighurst, *et. al.*, in reporting their similar study in the United States mid-west.

It is the reviewer's opinion that much that is written as commentary could have been omitted, or presented in some other way for reader economy; however, the inclusion of a review at the end of each chapter overcomes the problem of sifting for significant findings.

Sociologists will find useful reference material in the chapters dealing with employment, marriage and families, and leisure activities, while those with a leaning towards psychology might be interested in further

evidence on the distribution of intelligence in families, presented in the chapter on siblings.

Returning to the question of evaluating an educational product, many outcomes are presented here from which to select, but perhaps the most significant is concerned with the pursuit of further education.

With respect to those pupils who continued their education at the post-secondary level the survey confirms the importance of the parents' own educational backgrounds and aspiration for their children, in encouraging this step.

The length of stay in the high school is also directly related to the probability of continuing one's education formally. Thus two-thirds of the matriculating students continued their education at the university or equivalent level, while only one-third of the boys, and one in six of the girls, who did not complete five years of secondary schooling entered further education at sub-professional levels.

This latter finding should have considerable significance for Scottish education since there has been traditionally less emphasis on the importance of finishing a high school education (i.e., more sanctioned termination points) than in North America, with its concern for "getting a grade 12 education." "It does appear that continuing education supplements school education rather than compensates for it."

This finding can be interpreted in a variety of ways, the most wholesome being that the years spent in school endow youth with certain qualities which motivate and prepare them for further education. Unfortunately only 35 per cent of the boys who embarked upon a further education programme after less than five years of secondary schooling subsequently finished the course, although the percentage was higher for girls. Of the university entrants 12 per cent failed or dropped out.

It would appear that, if greater output in terms of qualified manpower is the objective, both schools and institutions of continuing education must carefully review their practices in order to attract and retain a greater percentage of students, and in particular to influence the decision to remain at school which is made at fifteen or sixteen years.

An enterprise as vast and complex as public education requires continuous scrutiny from both inside and outside to provide the necessary quality control for the maintenance of a dynamic system suited to the times. A longitudinal study which encompasses a sizeable part of post-school life, such as is described here, is one way of doing so.

This is an important report for all who are interested in, and concerned with, Scottish education, and the methodolgy of assessment.

The Transition to Secondary Education

By John D. Nisbet and Noel J. Entwistle (Publication No. 59)

For the North American reader to appreciate the significance of the study reported in *The Transition to Secondary Education* it is helpful to know about the traditional organization of education in Scotland.

The Hadow Report of 1926 concluded that education falls naturally into two divisions or phases:

1. primary education, the education of childhood, and
2. post-primary education, the education of adolescence.

On this basis two distinct phases of education were established, the transfer being made from primary to secondary school at about twelve years of age, this being considered the age of onset of adolescence.

The emphasis placed on age rather than achievement in promotion through all stages of public schooling resulted in a form of non-grading in the primary schools, and contributed to the practice of "streaming", or differentiated programming in the secondary schools. The placement decision which was made at the age of twelve-plus years not only determined what kind of program the child would follow, but in many cases what school he would attend. As well as a change of school there was usually a concomitant change from the self-contained classroom to a completely departmentalized organization.

On the assumption that differentiated secondary schooling would continue, and in the light of evidence that children are maturing at an earlier age than in the past, the Scottish Council for Research in Education instituted research on the age of transfer, in 1963.

The conclusions reached indicated that readiness for secondary instruction varied considerable with the individual, and that there was no sudden change in the mental and physical conditions of pupils at this age. Thus, no justification for changing the age of transfer was found, but more basic issues were raised, namely the nature of the transition process itself, and the problems created thereby. The opinion of the English Board of Education Report in 1905-6 now seemed more truly relevant to the times:

> Education is one. Any dislocation in its course is at best a necessary evil. It ought to be continuously progressive from the time when a child first . . . goes to school, up to the time when school life ceases . . . .

In 1965 the study which is the main subject of this book was commenced in the Aberdeen area to investigate the effect on the pupils of the sudden transition from elementary to secondary education.

Specifically answers were sought to the following questions: What factors cause set-back or stimulus? Do many children encounter difficulties of adjustment? What information can be gleaned from test and inventory scores?

As well as objective data opinions of both teachers and pupils were gathered. In all, thirty-four variables (twenty-three intellectual and

eleven non-intellectual measures) were gathered for over 3,000 children tested between the ages of seven and fourteen years.

Variables which correlate with secondary school success are analyzed in Chapter 6, the main purpose being to determine which variables correlate better with secondary school achievement than primary school achievement, the assumption being made that these factors play an important role in helping to offset any difficulties encountered in transition, or in helping to maximize the potential for learning in the secondary school.

Evidence is presented from which the researchers deduce that while personal factors, such as intelligence and motivation, are clearly related to attainment at both levels, certain family-centred factors, such as parental encouragement and socio-economic rating, become more influential once the child has entered secondary school.

In the following chapters further evidence is presented that non-intellectual factors affect performance in the secondary school, by comparisons of improvers and deteriorators in achievement. For boys improvement is related significantly to "academic motivation," "attitude to work," and "parental encouragement." In addition to these factors changes in school performance of girls appear related to "neuroticism" and "social maturity." Stable, socially mature girls improve after transfer; anxious, immature girls tend to deteriorate. Certain other home factors affecting performance are also presented.

Age within an age group affects performance at the transition stage. (Since two admission dates are in effect, namely January and August, a six-month range in age is expected in the groups.) Younger children show, on the average, lower attainment scores in secondary than in primary schools.

Following a chapter devoted to typical pupil reactions taken from essays written about their experiences on the first day in secondary school, the authors summarize their findings.

They conclude that "the pupils most likely to suffer from a sharp transition to secondary education are those from poorer homes, whose parents have limited education and fail to give the support and understanding needed for successful adjustment to secondary school work."

The view is expressed that ". . . the ideal arrangement would provide for a gradual change in curriculum and style of teaching over a transitional period of several years." And further, the ". . . allocation to streams should not be done at the outset, but only after an initial settling-in period."

The reviewer is reminded of the concept, if not the practice, of the North American junior high school. A vitalized middle school, flexible in both length and nature of programme, with frequent admissions of pupils, would seem to be the ideal buffer between the non-graded primary and the more structured secondary high school.

While many questions remain unanswered this research should be of value to educators interested in the related fields of child development and programme administration.

The books reviewed here are obtainable from University of London Press Limited, Saint Paul's House, Warwick Lane, London EC4 at a cost of 42 and 25 shillings for Numbers 58 and 59 respectively.

JAMES M. SMALL
The University of Alberta

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

DAVID CHABASSOL is a Nova Scotian who was educated at Acadia University, the University of Toronto, and the University of Alberta. A former high school teacher in the Maritimes, he has been at the University of Victoria for the past eleven years. His previous publications have been on personality traits related to success in teaching, and on the attitudes of Canadian adolescents.

W. P. EDDY has been a teacher and principal in a number of Alberta school systems and is presently Superintendent of Schools in the Taber School Division. Dr. Eddy completed his graduate studies in educational administration at the University of Alberta. He has published previously in *AJER, The Canadian Audio-Visual Review,* and *The Alberta School Trustee.*

JOHN A. HOSTETLER is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Temple University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He served on the faculty of the University of Alberta in Edmonton from 1959 to 1962. His work in cultural anthropology has been chiefly among the Anabaptist groupings, the Old Order Amish and the Hutterian Brethren.

WILLIAM D. KNILL is Professor of Educational Administration at the University of Alberta. He received the 1964 Educational Press Association of America (Ed Press) Award for excellence in educational journalism. This is Dr. Knill's seventh article to appear in *AJER.* Among his other publications, he has contributed chapters to *The Politics of Education in the Local Community; Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives;* and a forthcoming publication, *Education and Social Policy; Local Control of Education.*

JAMES M. SMALL received his school and undergraduate education in Edinburgh and subsequently taught for five years in a Scottish Secondary School. He immigrated to Alberta in 1963 where he held the position of high school vice-principal before joining the Department of Educational Administration, first as a graduate student and later as Assistant Professor. This summer Mr. Small will commence a doctoral program at Michigan State University.

CHRISTIAN A. STUHR has been College Master at the Confederation College of Applied Arts and Technology, Thunder Bay, Ontario since 1968. He was formerly a Research Assistant with the Board of Education for the City of Toronto.

LAURA THOMPSON, a cultural anthropologist long interested in the comparative study of value systems, has worked in Fiji, Guam, Iceland, West Germany, and in several American Indian tribes. Her most recent book, *The Secret of Culture: Nine Community Studies,* was published in 1969.

E. N. WRIGHT is Director of Research for the Toronto Board of Education. He joined the Research Department after completing his doctoral studies at Teachers College, Columbia University. Besides directing numerous research studies for the Board, he is Canadian Editor of the Canadian Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Tests, The Canadian Cognitive Abilities Test and is research consultant for the Safran Student's Interest Inventory.

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